1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

son frequently leaves his father's compound, builds one for himself and farms on his own account (provided his father has someone [1] to look after him). Farms are, therefore, owned and worked individually, the farmer being assisted by an unmarried (or adopted) son, and by his wives (in such farming work as women perform, viz. planting out the *dauro* [2] millet, plucking the *acha* [3] millet, and helping to clean the farm at the beginning of the agricultural year). But brothers or cousins occupying the same compound may agree to farm together and share the harvested grain.

The principal crops grown are *dauro* and *acha* millet, the staple food crops. Guinea-corn is grown entirely for conversion into beer. *Aburu*,[4] *gwaza*,[5] yams, sweet potatoes, and ground nuts are also cultivated fairly extensively. The minor crops are cassava, coleus dysentericus, wild tomatoes, *risga*,[6] pumpkins, and the beniseed, which plays an important part in all religious rites. Every Katab woman has a farm of broad beans at the back of her hut grown on trellis work.

The Katab country is very fertile, and the absence of cotton is, therefore, surprising. For farming the Katab uses the spurred hoe common to all pagans of the Middle Zone (see photograph). The farming methods are those generally employed, and need not be described. There is the usual system of one day's co-operative work (*gaya*) every now and then on an individual's farm, the farmer providing his helpers liberally with beer. Thus there is a *gaya* for threshing the *acha*. The workers, men and women, assemble in the *acha* field during a moonlight night and set to work. The *acha* is made up into small bundles, and the men tramp out the grain by pressing the heel on the ears, the women extracting what remains by beating the bundles with sticks. *Acha* and *aburu* are much alike, but *acha*, not being so firmly rooted as *aburu*, is at harvest not cut but merely pulled out of the ground by the women. *Aburu* on the other hand is cut with a sickle (right hand), the left hand gathering up the sheaves which are bound into small bundles.

Grain is stored in a granary of the type indicated in the

[1] Usually a younger son or cousin. A younger son is not allowed to marry until his elder brothers have married.
[2] Dauro = Bulrush millet (*Pennisetum spicatum*).
[3] Acha = *Digitaria exilis*.
[4] Aburu = *Digitaria iburua*.
[5] Gwaza = *Colocasia antiquorum*.
[6] Risga = *Plectanthrus floribundus*.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

794 626 582 continually, and to produce it at the spring festival tied round the pot containing her offering of beer. If she cannot produce it she is fined. If she runs off to another husband during that period, her relatives, who of course live in some other town, are fined. It might appear that the *obwai* of one town had no power of levying fines on members of another town, but as there is a reciprocal arrangement between the towns there is no difficulty in collecting the fines. The practice is not purely selfish, but is directed towards the common good, for in addition to prohibiting one's own wives from running away it also prohibits parents during this period from allowing their married daughters to contract a sub-marriage. A parent of town A who during these six months receives a bride-price from a man in town B for a married daughter who lives in town C is fined by the *obwai*.

794 796 241 The *obwai* is not, however, merely a village policeman. He is the centre of the festivals which begin and end the agricultural year. The main *obwai* festival is that which introduces farming operations just before the first rains. The whole community brings to the *obwai* hut offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens, and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* house, leaving a portion for the women and the younger people, who partake outside. The *Agwam obwai* then drinks a little of the beer from the pot, and asks the *obwai* to secure for them a successful farming season. A general feast ensues, the senior males being inside the *obwai* house, and the women and younger males being outside in the vicinity under a large tree. Dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard. (He speaks, concealed in the roof, in a voice disguised by the use of a wooden tube covered with spider's egg capsule.) He breaks into a song, addressing, it would seem, his living representative the *Agwam obwai*: "Kiachang a chira" ("Have you taken aught from anyone by force?"). The *Agwam obwai* replies "E" ("No, I have not"). The *obwai* continues: "Gado ze yai kiang nia cheda" ("No one can take aught by force—he can only give it willingly"). The *Agwam obwai* replies (singing, and all outside taking up the refrain): "Ei ee" ("Yes, that is true"). The *obwai* continues: "Lung yungwav" ("Fire has devoured the town"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Salio bang ayawat" ("But nothing can part brethren save death only"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "A biang sang okwon" (indecent). Refrain:

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

"Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Na mi kiang a zangat se zangat (indecent). Refrain: "Ei, ee."

The indecency of the songs sung at the public festivals is in striking contrast to the rules of decorum which govern the ordinary private life. This is not characteristic of the Katab, but may be said to be general of all Negro society. To brothers-in-law, for example, any jokes about sexual intercourse would, in the ordinary course, be taboo and wholly impossible. A man will bow down in humble subjection to his parents-in-law and avoid them on all possible occasions. But on the occasion of public festivals all the ordinary rules of private life are waived, and there is a saturnalia which permits a father-in-law to dance round in the same circle as his daughter-in-law, singing songs referring in the main to sexual matters. It is repugnant to any native to repeat in cold blood the words of these songs to a European, and it would be equally repugnant to him to use them at any other time than on the occasion of the public festival when, as of old among the Romans, free expression is given to the pent-up feelings. (In this connection we may instance cases where during public festivals, e.g. among the Gwari, it is permissible to abuse the Chief without fear of retaliation for all actions during the year which were regarded as unjust and tyrannical.) An *obwai* festival is also held at harvest, and a month before the feast his voice is heard warning the people to make preparations and desist from idle disputes.

There are among the Katab no elaborate rites of initiation into the cult of *obwai*. Children are taken to his hut at an early age (4–8), warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony is concluded by a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. It may be of interest to mention here the part that the *obwai* plays among the neighbouring Jaba tribe in the matter of initiation. These initiation rites among the Jaba have no connection with circumcision. They are performed when the lad is between 9 and 11 years of age. Among the Jaba, the *obwai* is known as the *Ku*[1] and the initiation rites are known as *woroku*. A noteworthy feature is that the lad is initiated not by his father, but by his maternal uncle. The father has no say in the matter. The lad goes to his maternal uncle's house, and the uncle provides the preliminary fee of one chicken. He

[1] This is a Jukun and apparently also an Ancient Egyptian term. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 263.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

nowhere any suggestion of specialization, each man generally making his own, with the possible exception of drums, which are often produced by men regarded more as ritual specialists than as craftsmen in wood. One of the chief occupations of women (apart from household duties) is petty trade, which, according to Meek, is carried on by the women on their own or their husbands' behalf. It takes the form of " the sale of excess supplies of millet and other crops, of firewood, and of beans. . ." For their weapons and tools and cloth, Katab appear to be largely, if not entirely, dependent on Hausa craftsmen in the area, for their pottery on their Ataka neighbours in Moroa Independent District. Hunting—in the absence of any considerable quantity of large game—is carried on rather as recreation (ritualized) than as an economic activity. Sylvan products in general—excepting palm-fibre and (if so classed) honey—are not exploited commercially to any extent, though both locust-bean and shea-nut trees are found in some quantity in the Katab tribal area.

433
462

Land Tenure: Crops

According to Cole, the Katab have little, if any, spare land. " All land in their area is claimed by some individual or family as his or their farm or fallow." Land hunger has apparently not yet set in; land can still be obtained freely or loan if one's inherited lands are insufficient. To secure a loan, a man brews and offers a special pot of beer to a landowner with fields (or fallow) to spare, who will normally accept the " gift " and grant the loan. Cole notes that " whereas in the past loans would never be for a specific duration, nowadays a loan is made for a specific period either for one, two or three years, after which the borrower would be offered another field, if this were available. . ." Sale, pledging, leasing or renting, on the other hand, are unknown. The complete right of the user and the passing on of his right are acknowledged, but no transaction which would deprive relatives and inheritors of this right is recognized. Examination of all available evidence fails to reveal any basic qualitative difference between what is termed " family," and what is termed " individual " tenure.

311
423
426

The extent of the average amount of land under cultivation appears to have remained more or less constant, at least since the Brice-Smith reassessment of 1922. He reported five acres as the average cultivated by the adult male: Meek reported the average acreage as " ranging from four to six "; Barnicott (1933) " the comparatively large area of eight acres " per family; Elliot (1943) " roughly an acre per adult male " in the " home farm " adjacent to the compound, " then, anything up to four miles away in the open country around the village," fields of undisclosed extent. Unfortunately, no figure for fallow per adult male is available.

311

The figure of *c.* 4 acres per adult male appears to be low,[10] but, as already indicated, it is not to be regarded as evidence of over-population; it does tend, however, to corroborate all reports that the soil of the area is extremely fertile. In the " household garden," according to Elliot, the following crops may be grown; beans,[11] ***gwaza***, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, okra, ***gauta*** tomatoes, tobacco, ***rama***

241

[10] In the Birom Tribal Area of Plateau, where the soil is poor, Davies has estimated that three acres per adult factor (male or female, presumably) is minimal for subsistence. (Among the Birom, however, pressure on the land is, in some areas, extreme: at least two Birom Village-areas, and probably others, have in fact less than the minimum.) It may be noted that Brice-Smith reported the average acreage worked by the Hausa farmer in Zangon Katab District as four acres, that is, 20% smaller than the Katab average in 1922. This difference was attributed not to superior farming methods (especially since " those who can afford it hire pagan labour to till their plots ") but to the fact that the Hausa domiciled in the District were primarily traders and craftsmen.

[11] Beans are, apparently, of some special significance. Early investigators declared them to be a staple crop, and the chief article of diet. It is the " home farm " or " household garden," apparently, which Meek designates "the women's bean gardens": " Every Katab woman has a farm of broad beans at the back of her hut grown on trellis-work. . . . Every married woman grows [beans] on her own account. With the proceeds of the sale of her beans a Katab woman usually adds to the number of her goats."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

241 hemp, and pepper. Fields—none very large in extent—of the staple crop, *dauro* (millet), are often widely scattered in the bush. Guinea-corn is "little grown" and used exclusively for beer, it is thickly interplanted with *gurguzu* ("sorrel," *Hibiscus var.*) and *kalkashi* ("related to beniseed, used in soups"). According to Meek, *acha* (*Digitaria exilis*) is equal to millet in importance, and *aburu* (*D. iburus*) widely grown. Groundnuts also are apparently grown on the bush farms; it is not stated whether these are consumed locally or are primarily a cash crop.

241 476 Heavy work on the bush farms is done under the *gaya* (Hausa "bee," or co-operative work) system, whereby neighbours in gangs move from the farms of one household to those of the next, their services rewarded with beer provided by the head of each household. The *gaya* appears to be organized basically on the principle of locality, but it will be recalled that the local unit is normally also a kinship unit; further, suitors of daughters of each household are obliged to join the *gaya*, and these will not be close neighbours, owing to the localization of Katab exogamous units.

241 242 Owing to the fact already noted that every parcel of land in the Katab tribal area appears to be claimed, shifting cultivation among Katab does not appear to form the "classical" pattern of the Nigerian Tiv. Cole refers to Katab practice as "shifting compound" cultivation, where the home farms are occupied with the house in the middle, thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the "bush" farm is worked until its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves to the "bush" farm, which thus becomes the "home" farm and is brought back into good fettle by manuring. This version appears to be simplified, for it will be recalled that normally, at Jan Kasa, at any rate, the fields constituting the bush farm may be very widely scattered; it can be assumed then that normally only one bush plot at a time is transformed in this way, and it seems not unlikely that from time to time one or more fields may be allowed simply to lie fallow; this, at least, is the implication of the data relating to loans, cited above. The circuit, however, appears to have very definite limits.

231 Goats and fowls appear to be kept in considerable numbers; sheep are less numerous than goats. Barnicott reported that there were no horses in the Katab area, but that in earlier, more prosperous, years horses and mares were numerous. Cattle are not kept by Katab, apparently, but Brice-Smith states that Fulani animals are always available for purchase by the Hausa butchers of Zangon Katab.

The Daily and Annual Cycles: Foods[13]

461 In the farming (rainy) season, all males "from the time they are old enough to use a hoe," leave the compound to work on their bush farms. A man ordinarily has more leisure in the dry season; building a new compound, or making major repairs on existing houses may take virtually his whole time for a period, but once such work is done, he has time to devote to weaving mats, drinking beer with age-mates and visiting the market, though he may pass days simply relaxing in his compound. The dry season is, of course, important as a time for festivals, both religious and secular, and for contracting primary marriages. A woman's work does not change radically during the dry season although, as she does not have to go daily to the bush farm taking food for her husband, she may have more time to spend gathering firewood and in the market.

262 [273] The most important food of the Katab is millet porridge, served with a soup or gravy of hibiscus seeds, usually highly seasoned. Boiled yams or *gwaza*, eaten hot or cold, may, however, form the entire menu for the day. As is usual in this part of Nigeria, where milk and milk products are scarce, guinea-corn beer is an important foodstuff. Meek states that the Katab eat beef, goat, sheep, chicken,

[13] See Meek, 1931, vol. II, pp. 47–51, for a detailed account.

co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAJE

when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *iswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *iswandik* is fastened.[133]

769 794 [291] [786]

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture.

789

When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground.

241

Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[133]

681 783

Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still.

681 695

[133] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[133] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attakka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress. 101

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also. 197 191

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible. 648 175

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors. 682 685

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old. 241 ● 524

They are of good physique. 192

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords. 291

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth. 291 301

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.* 361 342

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties 584 585

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma
Kagoro

the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 852

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [581] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. H. F. Mathews. Major Tremearne.

The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [231]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

and head-hunting, and no man of the tribe is fully accredited until he has taken a human head; that of a monkey, hartebeeste, or one or two kinds of bok are accepted as a substitute.

Slaves were treated as members of the family, whether they were captured in war or given for four years' service in payment of a debt. The former only were liable to be sold. The average prices given were, for an old woman, 8,000 cowries = 4s.; for an old man, 10,000 cowries = 5s.; for a virgin, 16,000 cowries = 8s.; for a young man, 20,000 cowries = 10s., prices which compare unfavourably with those which horses would command, *i.e.*, 100,000 cowries = 50s., or even bulls, 20,000 cowries = 10s.

It is the duty of the Elders to settle boundaries, but an interloper is only punished, divinely, by failure of crops. Private quarrels are settled by vendetta, and the only crimes for which communal punishment is meted out are those against religion. These are punished by stoning to death—black magic by choking. The high priest, or "Meakwap," is in fact more powerful than the Chief, and it is he who regulates and administers trial by ordeal. It takes the form of a calabash of poison; the innocent vomits and is saved, the guilty dies.

The ordinary form of oath is for a man to hold ashes, or corn, in his hand, and pray either that if he lies he may become as white as the ashes, or be killed by the next corn he eats. They say that in old times they were not so wicked, and observed many laws.

The Kagoro have no theory as to the origin of man, but they have heard of a great flood.

They believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be re-born in the body of a descendant, male or female, when they live once more as ordinary mortals. The ghosts are thought to inhabit the sacred groves and hills, that they have no houses, but retain their voice and appearance, and ride, hunt, and fight as of old. They are always hungry and thirsty, and their descendants offer them food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are constantly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the Elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove, when quantities of gia is drunk.

They are also propitiated when a compound is built on fresh ground. The father of the family first chooses the site and places stones where the granaries are to be, the blood of a fowl is then spilt and leaves of the "nok" tree (for luck), are buried on the chosen spot. The big men come and gia is poured over the site three times, and three incantations are made to invoke the aid of the ancestors and of those dead who might be buried in the vicinity. A drinking bout follows. Likewise when land is first farmed an offering of gia is made and when the corn is

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

241 ripening a fowl is sacrificed and its blood, together with the
775 leaves of the "Karran-Kwoi" and "tongwa," is put in a hole in the centre of the farm.

776 The spirits are subject to Gwaza, the supreme and beneficent
782 god who helps the living against evil ghosts. In drought the people pray to him for rain, facing first to the south, and then to the other points of the compass. The priests kill a fowl and place its blood, with a few of its feathers, on a stone two feet high in the sacred grove (at times some of its flesh is added), gia is then thrown three times on each corner of the stone and three incantations are spoken. Gwaza is believed to consume the offering and the petition is always granted.

776. When the new moon rises the people pray to Gwaza for health
821 and luck, and rejoice, but on this occasion no beer is drunk. They believe that the sun is a ball of fire, which falls into the water at night and becomes extinguished, but that it travels back to the east at night, at a higher level, and gets fresh fire from the supreme god. If a tree or house is set on fire by lightning the people must put out their old fires and kindle them afresh from this heavenly source.

761 The Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, and that when a man falls sick his soul leaves his body and journeys to this stream, where the spirits of the dead, who are assembled on the further shore, decide whether he may cross the bridge. Sometimes the decision is so long delayed that the spirit shrinks, and when it returns to the body has lost its full command. A first husband and wife will always come to the brink of the stream to greet the other, and both parents will come to welcome an unmarried child.

774 The soul leaves the body during sleep, as is proved both by dreams and by the fact that a person suddenly awakened has not full command of his faculties, which shows that the soul has not had time to return to the body. It is possible that the wandering soul may be caught and beaten, or its bowels or liver taken to a magic cave in the grove by the souls of evil men, who devour it. These evil souls glow like fire, which light is visible to the priests alone. When summoned to the injured man the priest calls out several names and the afflicted recognises
[754] that of his tormentor, who is summoned and shut into a room
[683] where a fire is burning, on which pepper is thrown, and there he is left until he promises restitution. If he fails to keep his promise he is sold as a slave, or choked.

No inanimate object has a soul, but the souls of animals may be born into the children of their slayer—it is doubtful, however, whether they can leave the living body.

798 Women and children are not allowed near the sacred groves,
688 nor may they speak of spirits under penalty of death.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [361] 342

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38

KATAB.

101 161 The Katab are situated in the Kauru District in the south-west of Zaria Emirate, where they occupy an area of some 200 square miles with a population of 5,000; they have also one township over the border in Nassarawa Province.

101 619 304 They are probably indigenous to their district. They show a certain affinity to the Kagoro and kindred tribes, who have adopted the Katab tribal marks, invented only two generations ago by a skilful operator, which consist of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

197 Their language, too, resembles that of the Kagoro, Kaje, Attakka and Moroa, and their customs are similar.

891 301 302 304 The women wear a bunch of leaves in front, and a conical shaped piece of bamboo, covered with string and decorated with beads and brass behind. They place wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips and shave their heads.

241 674 852 The Katab are good agriculturalists and breed a considerable quantity of live-stock. They are great highwaymen, and the first drop of water that an infant drinks is stolen, that he may be thus early initiated in the craft.

791 823 They are a pagan people, with belief in sorcery. There is a rock named Dutsin Kerrima in Nassarawa Province, which they declare becomes luminous every Sunday and Friday night, when white cattle are seen on the summit, herded by a white Filane girl.

727 273 They are head hunters and drink heavily.

175
311
241
612
423 20. An explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the historical background. In pre-British times when the Kagoro lived in the hills and came down to farm the plains it was the customary practice for a kindred or even a family group to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact block. The idea was that all the family eggs should not be in the same basket. If one particular area happened to be raided by the Fulani then, though the kindred or family might lose the produce of one particular farm, they would have other farms in other areas to fall back on; whereas had they been farming in only one place and in one compact block they would have lost everything they had. Consequently when the British rule brought peace and security the kindreds did not come down from the hills to settle in single compact blocks but came down to their split up and dispersed farms over the whole of the area. Whether or not the concept of a kindred holding of the land may have existed in the past it is certain that it does not exist now. It would have been undermined from the very start.

Breakdown to individual tenure.

423
311
596
888 21. The breakdown has gone much farther than the kindred. Whereas up to about twenty years ago it could truthfully have been said that it was the exception to the rule to find a man and his immediate family living and farming on his own, it is now the exception to the rule to find an extended family or family group living and farming together. In two cases that were investigated in the field it was found that the " family " lands had been divided up while the father was still alive. In the one case the father was too old to farm and in the second had suffered an injury some ten years ago which had prevented him from carrying on strenuous farming. In both cases the father was relatively hale and hearty and quite alert of mind. Nevertheless they were both prepared, since they could take no active part in the farming of the land themselves, to wash their hands of the matter and give their adult children their portion of the family lands. The only say they retained in the matter was in respect of the minor's portion and the division of the fallow lands. Fallow would not be divided up until it was actually required when as much as was required would be allotted to the son and this would then come under his control. Discussion with responsible opinion confirmed that this was a general practice and was quite common and widespread.

651
596
162
476 22. An interesting check on the above is available from the tax lists. These lists show, together with the name of each 'householder', the name of each adult tax payer living in the compound. It was confirmed by the District Head and Elders that where in the list a number of adult males were listed

593
423 45. It is of interest to note that with these Jabawa the father would still appear to retain the right to refuse to sub-divide the family lands until after his death—a right not so readily acknowledged either by the Kagoro or Katabawa. It also appears, however, that this is a right which would very rarely ever be exercised. Should a married son demand his portion he would be given it without demur whenever he might choose to demand it.

423 46. Responsible opinion, even amongst the "magajin
476 dodo"—the traditional priests—who are the most conservative and staunchest supporters of traditional custom, held that this was accepted custom and had been long established. Their views on the subject are of interest. It is probably true, they say, that in pre-British times individual tenure did not take place to any very great extent; but that was not because it was against the custom. The only reason that kept families and family groups living and farming together on a communal basis was the necessity of the times—the continual threat of Fulani raids and wars. Now, however, there was peace and security; there was no longer any need for them to work together and, indeed, it was much more satisfactory for them to work apart. In the olden days if
423 any member of the compound did not pull his weight he would
476 be given a good beating by the others which he would accept and
627 then get on with his work. If this did not work the threat of handing him over as a slave to the Fulani most certainly would. Nowadays if anybody started beating another he would be taken to Court and fined; and there was no longer the threat of handing him over as a slave. The lazy member of the community could not therefore be made to work and that being so it was much more satisfactory that he should go away and farm on his own rather than that he should feed on other people's labours. A man would not want to work on his own if he were willing to work with the others. If he was not willing then rather than have an unwilling worker they would prefer him to go off on his own. So runs local opinion.

Sub-division.
423 47. The breakdown to individual tenure has brought with it sub-division but no perceptible increase in fragmentation. The latter has always existed. At the present moment sub-division has arrived at a state where any further large increase will prove embarassing. Local opinion does not consider this as an evil inherent in sub-division but as an inevitable consequence of increasing population. Whether or not a family worked together as a whole or individually the amount of land available would not
B10 be altered. Spare lands in these districts are conspicuous by their
● B41 absence. All the land that is farmable has been taken up and in some places is kept in continuous cultivation with the aid of manuring.

000 73. Discussion of land tenure within this Hausa enclave is reserved for the section of the report dealing with Mohammedan Hausa tenure. We are here concerned with any deviations and divergences in this district's pagan tenure from that described in previous paragraphs.

Katab tenure breakdown to individual tenure.

74. Mr Barnicott, District Officer, reported in 1933:—

596 423 241

"Farming . . . . . particularly amongst the Katabawa is carried out on a semi-patriarchal basis. Nearly all the farms of each household belong to the head of the household and are handed down from generation to generation. The householder may not—and often does not—work on the farm himself but, as the owner, makes himself responsible for all the tax of the household; the junior members of the family and the women do the work and since the product of their labour is not strictly their own are not encouraged to accept responsibility for payment of tax".

[311] "The comparatively large area of seven acres is farmed by the average Katab family".

"The farm is run as a family concern and its produce cannot be apportioned . . . . . to each of the individual tax payers varying from one to as many as five or six who work on it".

75. Mr Elliott, District Officer, writes in 1943:—

"Each householder has a home farm in the immediate neighbourhood of his house. The home farm amounts to an area of about one to four acres—roughly an acre per adult male in the household. Then, anything up to four miles away in the open country round the village the householder has his main farm".

[592] "The size of the household is surprisingly small, perhaps indicating a recent tendency for families to split up and farm separately. The average household . . . . . consisted of an old man . . . . and a son who does all the farming who may perhaps be helped by a younger brother who is too young to pay tax. Out of the 142 farms surveyed the total number of the tax paying (*i.e.*, adult) farmers working them was no more than 205".

361 592 162

76. The following figures compiled from the 1947 tax lists (*see* paragraph 22 above) are of interest:—

Katab (*a*) Average number of adult males per household 2.1

(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound 11

~~24~~

[p. 21]

426 the present occupier vacated or moved his house they could get the land back.

Authority in land matters.

614 627 81. The Katab tribe appears to consist of three exogamous clans—Nyam, Ku and Baht. The first named is divided into four kindreds, the second is not divided and the third into three kindreds. The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. It would need more time than was available to establish the relationship—if any. It would appear, however, that at the present time neither the kindred nor clan elders claim the right to settle disputes. A farmer aggrieved by his father's division of the lands, for example, would complain to the village (kindred) elders who would try to effect or compromise. If they failed the matter would be brought up to the tribal elders who alone would be competent to insist that their decision be accepted.

82. The word insist has been deliberately used instead of enforce. The elders were at pains to point out that they would never require force to achieve their end. They would advise, then [626] coax or persuade; if that failed then social pressure would be exerted—ridicule, ostracism and, though it was not mentioned, probably a reminder of the potency of the " tsafi "—the tribal drum. At any rate in the end the disputants would accept the decision. And they had never known it to fail (cf. paragraph 69).

Unallocated lands.

423 ●241 83. As mentioned in paragraph 72 the Katab have little, if any, spare lands. All land in their area is claimed by some individual or family either as his or their farm or fallow—as with the Kagoro. It is not apparent that land hunger has set in—yet. Land can still be obtained freely on loan if one's own inherited lands are insufficient. Some families, reduced by death and disease, have more than they can use and are quite willing to loan it. Indeed, some of the elders complained that nowadays there were insufficient people to farm the lands properly since, if a man had four sons two would probably go off to the Mission and having gone away would no longer be interested in farming but would go off into some other non-agricultural pursuit. Whatever truth there may be in this statement the fact remains that some farmers find it impossible to follow the normal farm and fallow rotation and so adopt the "shifting compound " cultivation. The home farms are occupied with the house in the middle of them thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the " bush " farm is worked till its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves *en bloc* to the " bush " farm which then becomes the " home " farm and is brought back into good [361] fettle by manuring. The " home " farm has in the meantime become the " bush " farm—and so the process goes on. This

probably explains why the Katab scene consists of so many isolated single compounds widely scattered throughout the country side. There are no large villages or small towns.

84. There are few aspects of the Kaje land tenure system which would not be familiar to either the Katab or the Kagoro. There is the same gradual breakdown to an individual basis—though perhaps not to the same extent; the same denial to the individual of any right to alienate permanently lands which he has inherited and is expected to pass on to his inheritors; the acknowledgement of a system of loaning with the token brewing of beer—a social obligation; the same attitude to the building of a house on borrowed lands and the same grace period for farming after he has removed his house. Pledge is not known. Kaje tenure.

85. The principal deviation from the Katab is in the vesting of the final authority in land matters. Here the Kaje system is almost identical with the Jaba of Kachia. The kindred as distinct from the tribal elders claim the final say. Authority in land matters.

86. Details of the kindreds and the territorial village units are:—

(*i*) Tsok—Fadan Kaje
Fadia
(*ii*) Dwan—Zuturu
Zonkwa
(*iii*) Turun—Firman
(*iv*) Tadon—Madakia
(*v*) Bin—Suriyan
(*vi*) Afwun—Afana
Ungwar Rimi
Marsah
Kamerun

[It is of interest to note, in parenthesis, that my anthropology may be a bit wrong. On returning from the area the following reference from an old report by Brice-Smith was discovered (1922):—

"The tribe is still in the family stage of evolution. As soon as an individual has made his position sufficiently strong by marriage he moves off and starts a hamlet by himself and no longer recognises the tribal head".

He correlates the 'clans' and territorial units as:—

Bainduang (leopard totem)—*Zonkwa*, *Zuturu*, Kurmin Bi. Madaichi
Bainteo (crocodile totem)—*Fadan Kaje*, G. Tsofuwa, Rumfa, Kafo, Zagwon, *Fadiya*